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tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right.

The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets. They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

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Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court.

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer.

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed.

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of

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THE DANDARO DANCE.

535 567 562 This is rarely if ever danced by free men, and is considered essentially a slaves' dance. In a convenient open space, men and women stand in a circle facing inwards, the drums being in the middle. The men stand together, occupying one part of the circle and the women the other. The dancers place the right hand on the left shoulder and the left hand under the right elbow, and in this position they bend the knees slightly and sway the body in time to the music while progressing very slowly sideways round the circle to the right. A *zumari* or clarionet described above (see Sherha dance) plays the tune to which the dancers sing the words of a song, or rather a chorus repeated over and over again at short intervals which are filled by the clarionet solo. The accompanying drums consist of a *tumi* and a *chapuo* (see Razha dance), also a *kurugo* drum, about two feet high and ten inches in diameter, with a goat-skin on one end only which is beaten with a stick, the drum resting on the ground in an upright position.

535 534

The Dandaro may be danced during the daytime as well as at night. Occasionally food may be cooked and partaken of towards the end of the dance. In the larger townships no invitation is necessary, and anybody may join in.

THE KI-NYASA DANCE.

535 171 567 562 As its name indicates, this dance is an importation from Nyasaland, introduced first to Zanzibar and then to the coast of the mainland by slaves captured in Nyasaland and brought here by the Arabs. Consequently it is a dance practised only by slaves and people of humble origin.

It is danced in the open either by day or by night. Men and women, arranged in no special order as to sex, form a circle standing one behind the other and go round in a direction opposite to the hands of a clock, moving in quick time but taking very short steps and bending the knee considerably at each step. The arms are held in the position of a person running, that is to say with the elbow bent and the forearm at right angles to the body, which is bent slightly forward. Some of the dancers jerk their shoulders up and down occasionally. The leader of the dance sings a solo and the others take up the chorus. The men wear a string of small iron bells known as *njuga* strung round their knees, and stamp their foot at each step so as to make them jingle.

535 534 782 One large drum is used, called a *msondo*, and fashioned somewhat after the drum of the Washambala. It is rather a high-toned drum in spite of its size, which is about six feet in length and twelve to fifteen inches in diameter. One end only is covered with goat-skin, struck with the player's hands. The open end of the drum rests on the ground while the drummer stands astride the other end which is supported by a cloth round his waist, and he plays it in that position. This dance has no mystical meaning, and is merely an expression of a superabundance of animal spirits which

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are given vent to by singing and running round in a circle, in time to the beating of a drum, very much in the same manner as children do. No invitations are given, and anyone may join in. No refreshments are handed round.

THE MDEMA DANCE.

This also is an importation from Nyasaland (see Ki-Nyasa dance), and is danced by the slave population only, either by day or by night. It is exactly like the Ki-Nyasa dance described above, with the exception that no iron bells are strapped round the knees, and it is, if possible, of a simpler character, the Ki-Nyasa being in truth simple enough. Like the latter it is merely a vent for high animal spirits. No refreshments are given and no invitations are necessary.

THE KINDIMBA.

The Kindimba is not a dance, but a musical entertainment into which enters a slight element of the mystical. It is only given by people of the slave class in fulfilment of a vow. Any person who greatly desires something or some event to come to pass makes a vow to give a Kindimba if his wish is fulfilled.

Invitations are issued to his friends by the person who is giving the entertainment, and they assemble at his house. The men and women sit together either indoors if there is room, or else in the open. Songs are sung by a leader, the other guests joining in the chorus, and clapping their hands in time to the singing, which is accompanied by a small drum called a *mgumbaro*, very like a *marwasi* (see Shebwani dance), with this difference that only one end is covered with a goat skin, while in the *marwasi* both ends are covered. The other end, which is open, is made to rest on the chest or stomach of the player, who performs upon it in that position with both hands. Hard grains of maize are placed in dry gourds of various sizes, and these are rattled in time to the singing.

The entertainment partakes of the nature of thanksgiving, and frivolous songs are therefore avoided. Although not exactly of a religious character, a certain amount of superstition is far from being foreign to the Kindimba.

THE VUGO.

At a wedding, a procession of women is often formed in the evening after dark to parade the streets, and is called a Vugo. The women sing in chorus to the sound of buffalo horns beaten with short sticks. No men are allowed to take part in the procession, which is both an Arab and a Swahili custom.

THE KIVIAGO DANCE.[1]

This is a Swahili medicine-dance usually held outside the town in a plantation on a moonless night. No artificial lights are allowed. Swahilis who have any

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The names of the *fundis* now practising in Malindi are as follows :— 776 756

Mohamed bin Mhaji
Make Chocho
Habiba wa Jora
Biasha wa Ali
Shaibu wa Saburi
Fundi Ali
Fundi Matano
Said wa Famao
Hussein (a police constable)
Kiranja Mhaji
Mwalim Kai

When a *fundi* has recognised a *pepo* as one of his own, and when the bargain as to the fees to be paid has been made, he sends round to all the other *fundis* and invites them to witness his efforts to exorcise the *pepo*.

New clothes must be bought for the *pepo* in all cases, and they are worn by the patient in the manner of the tribe to which the *pepo* belongs.

The following are detailed descriptions of the procedure followed in exorcising the various kinds of *pepo* who are believed to seize people in Malindi :— 776 756 782 757 171

PEPO YA KI-GALLA.

On being called to see a sick person the *fundi* examines the patient and decides whether he is suffering from *pepo* or not. As a rule the decision is in the affirmative. He then orders a "*sadaka*" or sacrifice of food to be made. This varies according to circumstances of the patient and his relations, but it usually consists of boiled rice and goats' meat or fowl. The relations and friends of the sick person partake of this, as well as the *fundi* and his drummers. But before the meal begins, a *mwalim* or person versed in the prayers of the Koran is called in and the *fathiha—Illa hathrati el habibi Muhamad Nabbi al mustafa* is read over three times. Both prayers and feast take place just outside the house of the patient. But the women remain inside, and the food is taken in to them.

The *fundi* then goes and gets the native medicine necessary to make the *pepo* come into the head of the patient, and state what it wants as propitiation in order to induce it to leave the body of the patient. The medicine used consists of the leaves and small roots of certain trees to be found in the bush. The special kinds of trees used are professional secrets of the *fundis*, each of whom has his own prescription. Certain kinds of sea-weed gathered from coral rocks at low water are sometimes used, and these together with the roots and leaves are pounded together so as to form a paste which is mixed with water and placed in a pot to boil over a fire in the sick-room. The patient is then made to sit on a stool or native bed

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over the pot, or as close as possible, and is entirely covered over with a sheet so as to receive all the vapour from the pot and the heat from the fire.

While this primitive method of giving a Turkish bath is being carried out, the *fundi* chants an appropriate song of praise to the *pepo*, and the women, if they know the song, join in and clap their hands in time to the tune. This ceremony takes place soon after sunrise, at mid-day, and in the evening from about 7 p.m. to 8.30 or 9 p.m., each session lasting about an hour to an hour and a half, more or less. After each session the *fundi* questions the *pepo* to ascertain what *pepo* he has to deal with and what propitiation it requires, but the *pepo* may refuse to speak at once, and the same ceremonial is repeated every day up to seven days. If by that time the *pepo* has not spoken, the *fundi* usually comes to the conclusion that the *pepo* in question is not one of his clientele, and he suggests that some other *fundi* be called in.

If, however, success is attained in making the *pepo* speak through the lips of the patient, which is very often the case owing to leading questions being asked by the *fundi*, and perhaps to a certain amount of mental ascendancy on his part, to which a hypnotic element may not be foreign, arrangements are then made to fulfil the desires of the *pepo*, which invariably take the form of an *ngoma* or dance repeated every day for seven days, with or without a *pepo* feast, and a male goat to be ridden by the *pepo* on the last day of the dance.

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Before the dancing begins, new clothes are bought for the *pepo*, and the patient puts them on. If the latter is a man, a white cloth is tied round his chest and hangs down to his feet and another white cloth is put over the head and shoulders in such a manner as to leave only the face visible, the head and neck being covered. A pair of white cotton trousers tight at the ankle are also worn. If the patient is a woman the same clothes are worn, but the first-mentioned cloth is tied round her waist, and not round the chest as in the case of the man.

Guests are invited, both men and women, but the majority of the dancers at an *ngoma ya pepo* are women. The latter are the only ones allowed to enter the sick room, except the *fundi* and his drummers, and one or two male guests by request of the relations of the patient. The *fundi* and his drummers may also sit in the *ukumbi*, or entrance to the house, according to the wishes of the relations.

The dancing begins at eight or nine o'clock in the morning and lasts for two or three hours, or until the patient, impelled by the *pepo*, lifts his hands as a sign of having had enough for the time being. A second session takes place the same day from about 6 p.m. till 9 p.m., and so on every day till the seventh day.

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Pepo ya ki-galla generally begins to take part in the dancing on the third day of the dance. The patient, while still seated, begins to jerk his shoulders backwards and forwards and up and down, in time to the drumming. Then he gradually rises from his seat. A fly-switch, made from the tail of any wild animal which could be used for the purpose is placed in one hand, and a small calabash filled with leaves

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supposed to have medicinal properties is placed in the other. A string of oval iron bells (*njugu*) with a pebble inside is tied just below his right knee, and he then shuffles forward alone, dragging his feet. He takes up his position between the two lines of dancers, one at each end of the room, and shuffles backwards and forwards between the two lines of dancers while waving the fly-switch and the calabash, and still jerking his shoulders as described above. The two lines of dancers move their shoulders in the same manner, but remain in the same place.

These proceedings are repeated twice a day, morning and evening, until the evening of the seventh day, when the session is prolonged through the night well on into the next day, sometimes even until mid-day.

During the last dance, the cloth over the head of the patient is allowed to drop on to his shoulders, and another white cloth is put on his head and is kept on by a cord being wound round the temples after the manner of the Beduins.

If the *pepo* has required the production of a goat amongst other things to be done for his propitiation, a male goat is now produced and brought to the door of the house. The patient comes out and strokes the goat, passing his right hand three times from its head along its back to its tail. He then gets astride of it and pretends to ride it like a horse, jumping up and down, and jerking his shoulders as before in time to the drumming.

If at any time the *pepo* calls for food, a small piece of bread is produced, on which is placed a speck of ambergris and musk, and it is then placed in the mouth of the patient, who eats it. A few raisins are also given, and a lump or two of sugar candy.

After the patient has got tired of riding the goat, the *fundi* asks the *pepo* in the presence of the assembled guests if he has received all he had asked for. The *pepo* says "yes." The *fundi* then asks him if he will ever seize the patient again, to which the *pepo* replies, "I will not seize him again," and thereupon he is considered to have taken his departure, and the patient goes to bed to sleep off his fatigue, and awakes later to find himself quite cured.

There are about fifty propitiatory songs for the *pepo ya ki-galla* known in Malindi.

The names of some of the *pepo ya ki-galla* who are believed to possess people in Malindi are as follows:—Guyo, Barsa, Godana, and Galgalo. All these are common Galla names.

The drums used are two *Vumi* drums, one *Chapuo* drum, and *Vitasa* cymbals, all described in the Shebwani dance.

Pepo ya Ki-sanye.

The ceremonies and medicines used to cast out a *pepo* of the Sanye tribe are exactly similar to those used in connection with a *pepo* of the Galla tribe. The only difference is that the *pepo* speaks the Sanye language through the medium

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of the patient, and the propitiatory songs are also in the Sanye language, although Galla songs may also be sung effectively.

The names of the *pepo ya ki-sanye* who are believed to frequent Malindi are merely common Sanye names.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

1 PEPO YA KI-SHAKINI.

The people of Malindi do not know here where the Shakini country is. They tell one vaguely that it is *mbarani mbali sana*, that is somewhere in the distant interior of Africa. The Shakini language is said to be understood by the Zigula people. The *pepo ya ki-shakini* is thought to have been introduced to Malindi by slaves brought from the interior, but very little is known of its origin.

The ceremonies which take place at the casting out of a *pepo ya ki-shakini* are exactly the same as those of the *pepo ya ki-galla*; the roots and leaves which make up the ingredients of the medicine used to make the *pepo* speak are, however, different, but the medicine is applied in the same way, that is by means of a Turkish bath.

The clothes worn by the patient when the dancing begins are similar to those worn by a person possessed of a *pepo ya ki-galla*, only the clothes are made of a dark blue cotton (*kaniki*) instead of white cotton (*amerikani*). The trousers worn may be made of blue cotton cloth or red cotton cloth (*bendera*). On the last day of the dance the white cloth worn on the head of the patient suffering from *pepo ya ki-galla* is replaced by a red or blue cloth secured on the head in the same way, by a cord bound round the temples. Formerly, when colobus monkey skins were obtainable, the head-dress consisted of a conical hat made from these skins, about a foot to fifteen inches high, in the shape of a dunce's cap with a peak to it in front, and the monkey's handsome tail hanging down behind. A leather breast-plate and back-plate connected by straps that hang over the shoulders are also worn as an ornament, being profusely decorated with beads and kauri shells. This is called a *torosi* (a Ki-rima word), and is worn on the last day of the dance.

The dancers of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* form a circle, one behind the other, and move round and round with short jerky steps in a direction opposite to that of the hands of a clock, and stamp their feet in time to the drums. They move the upper part of the body by alternatively throwing the chest forward and the shoulders back and then the shoulders forward and the chest in. The patient dances along with the others, and waves a fly-switch made from the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The *pepo* of the Shakini tribe are believed to be very fond of tembo, and the patient is given frequent libations of this drink. But he cannot tolerate the smell of mutton, and all cooking of this meat must be done at a distance while the patient is possessed of this *jin*.

On the last day of the dance a male goat may be produced if the

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pepo so desires, and the same ceremony is gone through as for the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

The songs of praise of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* sung in Malindi amount to about twenty-five.

Some names of *pepos* of the Shakini tribe known here are, Shinga Kamba wa Goshi, Hotea, Shingwa Rambo wa Seraf, Giwa wa Mwenne Panganga Waso wa Jentangu.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

PEPO YA KI-RIMA.

The origin of these *pepo*, as their name indicates, is of course well known, but their introduction to the Malindi District dates only to nineteen years back.

The ceremonial followed is the same as that of the *pepo ya ki-galla*, and of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The head-dress is, however, different, and consists of what is called a *shumburere*, which is of exactly the same shape as a Mexican hat with a tall conical crown and a very wide brim. It is woven from the split fronds of the dom palm or the *mkindu* palm, the wild date. From the outer edge of the brim is suspended a fringe composed of strips of coloured cloth which hang down to the pit of the stomach in front, and to the same level at the back. The head and face of the patient are consequently completely hidden.

As in the Shakini *pepo* dance, the dancers follow each other round and round in a direction opposite to the hands of the clock, and perform the same steps and antics as in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The patient also waves in the same manner a fly-switch made out of the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The patient is anointed with castor oil as soon as he shows signs by jerks and twitches that he is about to begin to dance.

The *torosi* breast-plate and back-plate of leather are also worn by the patient in this dance, and a male goat is produced if so required by the *pepo*, and is ridden and danced round in the same manner as described in the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

There are some forty songs known in Malindi sung in praise of the *pepo ya ki-rima*.

Some names of these *pepo* known here are, Lairan wa Laitua, Laitoni wa Laimoran, Lukwalla wa Lugawane. They remind one of Nandi or Masai names.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

PEPO YA KI-NYIKA.

This is considered a benign form of *pepo* who does not cause the patient any great pain or ill, nothing more serious than a headache or a cough, which do not incapacitate the person possessed.

Native medicine is not usually given in order to make the spirit speak and say who he is and what he wants. He is generally recognised by the ache or pain he

753 causes to the patient, and he is not exacting in his requirements of propitiation.
755 Generally two or three days' dancing will satisfy him together with a large
535 supply of boiled mealie-meal served with grilled fowl or goat. Sometimes as a
782 special treat some *kunde* beans are mixed with the meal. This is given as a
776 farewell dinner to the *pepo* after the dancing is finished. All the guests partake of it as well as the patient.

The dancing begins about 9 a.m., and lasts about an hour and a half. The patient then goes about his work as usual. In the evening the dancers reassemble and dance through the night with the patient. A line is formed, and one dancer at a time advances to where the drums are being played, jerks his shoulders about while bending over one of the drums for a few minutes, then suddenly stamping his foot he retires with a shuffling step back to his place in the line and another dancer goes forward and repeats the performance, and so on. The patient dances with the others, but is distinguished by having a fly-switch in one hand and a live fowl in the other, both of which he waves about.

The patient is dressed in two new dark blue cotton cloths (*kaniki*), worn as a Swahili woman wears her *leso*. No head-dress is worn. On the second day of the dance, if the patient is a woman, she exchanges her two dark blue cloths for a kilt such as the Nyika women wear.

During the dancing, the patient goes occasionally to a pot of cold water in which leaves of wild trees believed to have certain properties have been pounded and mixed up. He puts both hands into the pot and raises some of the liquid to his mouth and drinks. Having quenched his thirst he throws some of the liquid over each shoulder on to his back, and also pours some on his chest as if he were taking a bath.

At the end of the dance on the third day a meal is partaken of as stated above and the *pepo* departs.

The names of *pepo ya ki-nyika* known in Malindi are without number, and are similar to ordinary names at present heard amongst the various Nyika tribes. The songs of praise sung in honour of these *pepo* in Malindi are also numberless.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

PEPO YA KI-PEMBA.

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776 As their name indicates, these "*pepo*" are supposed to come from the island of
755 Pemba.
534 In order to make the *pepo* declare himself, the usual native medicine and Turkish bath are given. The patient is then dressed in two white cloths after the fashion of the *pepo ya ki-galla*. He is placed on a stool, and as soon as the drumming begins he sways his body about in time to it, and ultimately jerks the stool which he sits on round the room. A *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Shenha dance) is also played to the accompaniment of the drums. This jerking about on the stool goes on for seven days, and on the eighth day matting is laid on the floor. The

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patient sits on the matting at one end, and proceeds to jerk himself forward to the other end. On reaching this he jerks backwards without turning round. This is a very laborious business and takes a good deal of effort.

On the eleventh day the patient assumes an upright position, and dances, standing up between two lines of dancers. He advances with short shuffling steps to the line of people in front of him. On getting within a couple of feet of them he begins to retire, shuffling backwards without turning round, and keeping his body bent forwards almost at a right angle with his lower limbs. He is followed by the line of dancers facing him, who dance the same shuffling step, and who keep within a couple of feet of him. On reaching the line of dancers behind him, he straightens his body and starts forward again, the line facing him then retiring and the line behind him following him. He waves a fly-switch in his hand, and a string of small oval iron bells, *njuga*, with pebbles inside, is tied round his right ankle.

No head-dress is worn by the patient, but a paste is made by pounding to a powder a certain scented wood called *udi*, and mixing it with water. This is applied all over the head. If no *udi* wood is available, the wood of the *muhuhu* is used. A black line about half an inch wide is also painted from the tip of the nose over the head to the back of the neck.

On the last day of the dance, fruits and delicacies in very small quantities are laid before the patient, who eats a little of each for the benefit of the *pepo*.

If the *pepo* demands it, and the financial position of the patient will allow of it, a white bull or a male goat is produced on the last day, and is ridden and danced round by the patient as described in the ceremonies which take place to expel a *pepo ya ki-galla*, after which the *pepo* departs from the sick person.

The names of some of the *pepo* known in Malindi are, Mwana Mashungi wa Ukulu, Kekecha wa Mawamba, Makata wa Mapinga, Maungua wa Maamba. A great many propitiatory songs are also known at Malindi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

PEPO YA KI-HABSHI.

The Abyssinian spirit is not believed to have seized anyone at Malindi yet, and very little is known about it here. It is, however, believed to have possessed people in Zanzibar and Kismayu.

PEPO YA KI-ARABU.

The ceremonies which are gone through to expel a *pepo* of this variety constitute a type which is followed with slight variations in exorcising almost all the *jins* believed to belong to Moslem tribes.

The fundamental difference between the method of treating heathen *pepo* and Moslem *pepo* consists in the substitution of strong perfumes for the Turkish bath method, in order to induce the *pepo* to declare himself.

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776 755 [782] The preliminaries are the same as those described in the *pepo ya ki-galla* up to the point where it becomes necessary to ascertain what the *pepo* requires as a bribe or propitiation to depart from the body of the person whose sickness he is believed to be causing.

In order to get this information from the *pepo*, a mixture is made of rose water, ambergris, musk, saffron and camphor. Using this as an ink, the *fundi* writes on a plate the name of Allah with His various attributes (the all-powerful, the all-merciful, etc.), also the names of some of the archangels. The writing being completed, it is carefully and reverently washed off the plate into a cup with a little more of the mixture above mentioned. The contents of the cup are then given to the invalid to drink, and incense is also burnt beside him. In a short time the *pepo* comes into the head of the patient and states who he is and what he wishes.

776 755 535 Arrangements are then made for a dance, and guests are invited in the usual way. New white cloths are put on the patient, who wears them in the same way as *lesos* are worn by Swahili women. A pair of trousers, tight at the ankle, is also worn.

The patient sits on a stool and gradually begins to sway his body in time to the drumming. Later on the swaying becomes more and more accentuated, till it develops into jerks of the body of sufficient violence to move the stool, on which the patient sits, all about the room. Ultimately he becomes sufficiently excited to stand up and dance with a sort of gliding step, backwards and forwards between two lines of dancers, who imitate his step and gestures. In each of his hands is placed a small white flag, on which is written the verse of the Koran *Ayat il kursi*. The flag in his left hand he holds over his left shoulder, and the one in his right hand he waves about. A *maharuma* or Beduin head-dress is secured on his head, but if none is available an ordinary white cap will do. On standing up to dance the patient must change his clothes. He discards his two white cloths, and if the *pepo* who possesses him has been ascertained to be a male he dons a white *kanzu* as worn by men. If the *pepo* is a female, then a short *kanzu* of some coloured material or, if possible, of silk such as the Arab women of Muscat wear, is put on by the patient.

If a male *pepo* seizes a man, or a female *pepo* a woman, there is believed to be little hope of the recovery of the patient, whose fate is practically sealed. If on the other hand a *pepo* of one sex seizes a human being of the opposite sex, then the recovery of the patient is assured.

The drumming is accompanied by songs in Arabic appropriate to the occasion, and usually in praise of the spirit.

755 782 At the end of the dance on the last day, a feast is given to the *pepo*, with delicacies consisting of small quantities of Turkish delight (*halua*), powdered white sugar, white lump sugar, moist sugar, sugar candy, almonds, raisins, milk, eggs, young coconuts (*dafu*), but of the pale coloured variety, rose scent, scented oil and European scents.

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In Ṭarīm many houses belonging to the wealthy saiyids seem to have a name chosen by the owner, and Saiyid 'Umar b. Šaiḫ Āl Kāf, our neighbour in Tarīm, called his house al-'Iššah, or 'the nest', but others seem to be called after the name ot the locality, or as the Ḥaḍramī says, after the name of the well, such as the house Ḥamṭūṭ, our neighbour to the east. Houses in Tarīm often have chronograms over the door, generally some pious phrase, worked in the plaster and painted. In Šibām the Maṣna'ah or fort has inscriptions, including dates, in the woodwork. I am convinced that herein lies the explanation of why so very few pre-Islamic and early Islamic inscriptions have been found in Ḥaḍramawt. On dams, on buildings, even in the mosques, the inscriptions which today record the foundation, or repairs effected to a construction, are all drawn in the plaster. The only two Kufic inscriptions I saw in Ḥaḍramawt were on the grave-stones at Ḳabr Nabī Allāh Hūd, and the strange shrine of Mawlā Maṭar. Pre-Islamic stone inscriptions will of course be discovered when excavation is made in the mud mounds which represent the ancient towns and villages of the country.

The sacrificial rites described here are probably general to South-West Arabia. (In the Ṣubaiḥī village of Am-Fadjarah, west of Aden I came across very similar practices. A ewe (ganamah) was slaughtered at the foundation (sās). In the space under the stairs called ḳuṭb, when it was made, another was slaughtered, and on completion of the building a third ewe, called the iklīl or 'crown', was also immolated. As the occupier of the house in question I was asked to defray the cost of these. This is some hundreds of miles from Ḥaḍramawt.) Comparisons with ritual in the ancient world may be made by scholars.

According to my early notes in Tarīm, every craft seems to have different categories of workmen, perhaps graded, but I did not explore this possibility. A fully trained craftsman is called a mu'allim, and if you want to have a house built, you go to the mu'allim. Tarīm once had fifty to sixty mu'allims, but now (1947) there are probably only about thirty. Other categories are, the musawwis who builds the dry stone foundation of your house, and the bānī who builds with the clay bricks (madar) and clay (ṭīn). A bānī in Ḥaḍramawt is also a potter (syn. in Yemen, maddār). I heard of an architect in Tarīm who bore the name 'Umar Ya'mur

which is interesting, because the name for a builder in other parts of South-West Arabia is 'ammār (verb, 'ammar yi'ammir).

When you start to put the first clay brick (madrah) on the stone foundation of your house, you slaughter a sheep or two, or more if you are a rich man. You invite one of the Ṣāliḥīn (pious) such as a saiyid or manṣab to lay the first madrah; a ceremony is made out of the entire proceeding, and an entertainment given known as the ḍiyāfah of the laying of the brick (ṭarḥ al-madrah). A sheep is slaughtered on one of the corners (ḫuḵm pl. ḫiḵam), probably the first to be completed. You then take the sheep's head and lay it on each corner for about a minute or so, in order that the blood may be scattered on each corner. This is done to stop the Djinn from entering the house. Sometimes, if you are slaughtering two head of sheep, you kill on one ḫuḵm and anoint a second, then you kill again, and blood the remaining two. If it is a large house like al-Munaiṣūrah, the Āl Yaḥyā house in which we were living, one may slaughter eight to ten sheep. A photograph of the sās of a house building in Daw'an stained with the blood of a sacrifice is shown by Ingrams [1].

As the sheep is slaughtered, one of the ḫaddāmīn (i.e. the workers on the building) gets on top of the foundation (sās) and halloos (yiḫawwil), and all the other other ḫaddāmīn do the same. (This hallooing is also performed when the rain-flood is coming down the Wādī, and by the Bedouin on the Djōls when rain comes.) They then repeat a number of formulae for good luck, such as the following: —

> Ṣallā 'alā Muḥammad — wa-ṭuwwil 'umr fulān bin fulān — Allāh ya'ṭīh min 'aṭā' — wa-yrazziḳuh māl wa-'ayāl, etc.
>
> Bless Muḥammad — and make long the life of so and so (the master of the house) — God give him sustenance — and provide him with money and off-spring.

The sheep's carcase is then taken to a house and divided, one quarter goes to the owner of the house which is being built, one fifth of the remainder goes to the Dawlah (Sultan), two fifths go to Ahl al-Sās, i.e. the builders of the foundations who in

[1] See art. noted in the bibliography.

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Tarīm are the Ahl Bā Ḥuraiš, also the Tarīm grave-diggers [2], and two fifths to the other Ḍaddāmīn. The owner of the house customarily gives some of his portion away, but my informant did not remember exactly how much this is, or to whom it is given. Apart from the foundation sacrifice, the owner will also make a separate ḍiyāfah or entertainment in his own house, killing a sheep or two there.

When you have finished setting in position the beams which act as lintels to the windows, exits, cupboards, etc., on the ground floor, and which are known as taisūrah (pl. tayāsīr) or mafḳir), a sheep is usually slaughtered on the corner tayāsīr. The feast given at this point is known as Ġadā al-Tayāsīr [3]. The blood lies on the tayāsīr, and the Djinn drink. Being grateful to the lord of the house, they leave him alone, and protect him from the other Djinn [4]. If however you should happen to be a poor man, you may not be able to afford to slaughter an animal on this occasion, but you give the workmen a meal. At least, in the past you gave the workmen a meal, but as they brought their children etc., with them, you used to find yourself giving thirty a meal, instead of ten or twelve. So this practice has now ceased, and a bargain is made that the men get food in kind, and money to buy meat, instead of having a meal provided for them.

At the placing of the cross-beams on top of the wooden or stone columns (tarkūb ishum, or ta'ḳīd ishum), the master of the new house provides a ḍiyāfah known as Ġadā Tarkūb Ishum, and also

[2] Cf. my article in *Le Muséon*, 62 (1949), p. 159.

[3] Ġadā is used in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt and Wāḥidī territory to denote food provided in kind for an employee as part of his contract.

[4] I have a pamphlet by 'Abd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥ. al-Šiblī of Ḥabbān where it was given me, entitled Teko « Singapore » (Singapore, 1352 H.) which mentions slaughtering on ('alā) the feet of the bride and groom at the Lailat al-Zafāf when the bride comes to her husband's house. Those who cannot buy a beast to sacrifice (ḏabīḥah) break eggs at their feet, a custom common enough in Ḥaḍramawt where I have often seen eggs lying broken outside rooms in which newly-born children lay. An opinion on the practice is cited. « If the ḏabīḥah is slaughtered at the feet of the bride and groom, its religious injuriousness is known, for it is slaughtering out of fear of something other than God, such as the Djinn or the Šaiṭān. This arises from the belief that if the ḏabīḥah is not slaughtered, then a touching (mass) from the Djinn will befall them. Slaughtering at that time is therefore forbidden. »

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a gratuity (dihn, lit. oil, sesame-oil being intended [5]) for the carpenter (naǧǧār), and the architect mu'allim. In Tarīm I dealt with a carpenter called 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥaśwān of the Āl Bā Ḥaśwān all of whom were carpenters, apart from a few silversmiths. 'Awaḍ knew of eight ancestors who were carpenters. This gratuity (taġrīb) *pourboire* or *douceur* is usually a riyāl or two [6]. One says for instance, Ḏī ḳahwah lak, 'this is a little present for you', or Bā A'ṭīk ḳahwah yābisah, 'I'm going to give you a little present of money'.

When the house is actually being built, the neighbours bring the ḥaddāmīn who are working on it a copper kettle (dallah [7]) full of coffee, as an ikrām lak, 'a kindness to you', as master of the house. In Tarīm being a neighbour implies unwritten duties rather more obligatory than such kindnesses as obtain between neighbours in Western Europe. Each time the coffee comes the workmen halloo (yiḥawwilūn), and sing formulae of the type quoted supra, and they cease working until they have finished the coffee [8]. The people of the Quarter [9] used to make a big copper ṭuss (derived from the Persian taśt) of ḳahwah, carried in a basket with two handles, for the builders, as a kindness to the owner of the house (ikrām li-ṣāḥib al-bait) at the Day of the Foundation (Nahār al-Sās). In return the master of the house would give them a little money present.

When the doors and windows of the house are completed, the carpenters get a meal (ġadā) or entertainment over and above their salary. At the completion of the building of the house, the mu'allim gets a customary present (luh 'ādah) which is called ḳuṣū'ah, and which is usually about ten riyāls. The term is applied to any such present given to terminate a job of work, or to terminate an engagement.

There is a law (ḳānūn) amongst the carpenters, (and one similar amongst the builders), that if you are tired of your carpenter, or

[5] In Aden bribery is euphemistically known as ḥaḳḳ al-salīṭ, ḥaḳḳ al-ḳahwah.

[6] For the riyāl or Maria Theresa dollar, see R. ANDREE, *Zur geographischen Verbreitung des Maria-Theresa Thalers*, *Mitt. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii (1874), p. 267-71.

[7] A small example of the South Arabian dallah, I brought back to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[8] Ḥaḍrami coffee is made from the husk, a few berries, ginger and other spices.

[9] See my article in *Le Muséon* cited above.

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this reduction should be made, issued a decree (taḳrīr) defining the wages of the various categories of people engaged in building. The workmen still refused to accept the revised wages, and some left Tarīm and went to the independent Ḥawṭah of Thibī, outside it and beyond Kathīrī jurisdiction. Some however stayed in Tarīm, but worked at collecting firewood, and refused to undertake building. A *modus vivendi* was established through the good offices of Saiyid Bū Bakr al-Kāf, but whereas, before, the wage of the builders had been two three Āl Kāf ḍarībahs per day, which the wealthy had attempted to reduce to one ḍarībah only, after the dispute all the workmen received three ḍarībahs [10].

To revert to the sacrifice on the sās, I noticed in the fine archaeological site of the town known as Am-'Ādīyah [11] that on some buildings an inscription was located at the *corner* of the sās which was constructed of the typical lozenge-backed Himyarite hewn stone, and that it stood about three feet from the ground. Possibly therefore it was sometimes a custom to place inscriptions in the sās about the place of the sacrifice; they could not be placed higher as the wall above this point is of adobe. These particular Am-'Ādīyah inscriptions are very weather-beaten, and to the best of my knowledge no attempt has been made to copy them.

An interesting feature of Ḥaḍramī building is the shape of the columns, generally carved from 'ilb wood, which strikes one immediately as descended from an ancient tradition. In the Ḥawṭah of Thibī near Tarīm, I first saw the curious capital sketched (fig. C.) from below, with its little round pendants underneath the rectangular blocks. Later I realised that this was a very stylized type of capital, derived from a prototype somewhat resembling the examples in figs. A & B., sketched in my field-book at 'Azzān and

[10] Reproductions of the ḍarībah in J. A. S. BUCKNILL, *A note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia, Journ. of the Malay of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore, 1925), III, 1. It is the coin which has the number 16 written on it. There were about five to six ḍarībahs to the riyāl (kirš franzāwī).

[11] For notes on this town see S. PEROWNE, *'Im'adiya and Beihan, Aden, Antiquity* (London), xiii (1939), p. 50. The author confuses the name امادية with عمادية, but it is really the South Arabian article Am = Al, followed by the word 'Ādīyah. It is therefore « the 'Ādite city » which means little more really than « the ancient city ». I visited it in 1941.

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302 Women, according to a visitor from that locality, have no special hair customs in Hadhramaut other than shaving round the temple to show as wide an expanse of forehead as possible.

EXORCISM, SPIRITS, JINNS, SACRIFICES.[1]

[771] The mountaineers, although normally belonging to the *Shafi* sect of Islam, are full of pagan
754 cults which excite the ire of the orthodox Moslem visitor. I have already in my paper under
755 reference explained the details of Ra'aba Hamra spirit exorcism and snake-bite cure—the
752 imprecations in the Shahara tongue of the mountains, the raising and lowering of bodies, the spitting on the wound. At Shisur I noticed that the proceedings were terminated by a rifle fired into the air. That, however, is the procedure for the "Evil Eye," so here this bravery was dispensed with. The cure did not work, however, and was followed by another next day. This, called Habil, was a kind of divination and propitiation. The practitioner, rope in hand, sat about three paces from his patient. A third party was called to hold the end of the rope. Taking an arbitrary length of it with the thumb and forefinger of one hand, the practitioner measured the outstretched length of it with his disengaged arm by means of forearm's length, hand span and finger breadth. The operation he repeated three times, each occasion preceded by a pause to bend his head low over the rope and shake his head, making a curious burbling noise with his lips, and to take a handful of sand which he sprinkled up and down the rope. In conclusion he looked up at his patient and gave him the following remedy: "at sunset take so many dates and so much *samn* (butter) and go and cast it away upon the sands."

754 These mountain tribes are much afraid of the Evil Eye, not only for themselves, but equally
755 for their flocks and herds. The ceasing of lactation is invariably ascribed to *Ain Balis*. The cure is frankincense. I witnessed the ceremony on occasion and made a cinema film of it, though it is usually performed at sunrise or at sunset. The incense burner was brought and wood introduced and lighted. The practitioner, the cow-owner, broke a fragment of frankincense about the size of a walnut into three pieces. Then spitting upon it three times he introduced it into the burner. While two other witnesses held the afflicted animal by head and leg [illegible]ely, he waved about its head the burning frankincense, chanting a set sacrificial chant.

● 782 For human sickness a cow or a sheep is sacrificed, the blood being sprinkled over the patient's shoulders and breasts when the sun is high overhead; the animal must be female. For sacrifices at human deaths, male and female animals are alike held virtuous.

753 A Sayid met me in the mountains and asked me whether I knew of anything to pacify
776 *Afarit*. His wife had had a series of miscarriages. *Afarit* were the cause. There are many evil spirits—*Afarit*, *jinns*, *jinnyat* and *Zars*. *Zars*[2] are the most accommodating, *jinns* sometimes yield, but *Afarit*—they are Allah's worst affliction.

782 The sacrifice of animals in case of death varies with the importance and wealth of the
556 deceased. In small and average estates one half of his cows are sacrificed. In big estates

[1] Detailed descriptions will be found in my *Arabia Felix* (Jonathan Cape, 1932).

[2] A detailed description of the "Zar" cult as practised in Oman is given in my *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (Allen and Unwin, 1931).

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exceeding 40 cows, 20 cows are the limit, may be a camel and a few sheep as well. In the case of a poor man, perhaps a single cow or sheep. Two cows are slaughtered near the grave of the deceased on the day of burial (*i.e.* death generally), if overnight, a third cow. Two nights are allowed to pass and on the third night a cow is slaughtered. This is called *khutum*. A further period elapses varying according to the economic condition of the deceased's relatives. It may be so little as a fortnight or so much as three months when the big sacrifice takes place, may be of 10, 15 or 20 cows respresenting half of the deceased man's herds. This is called *yom el nahaira*. Both *khutum* and *nahaira* are performed at the place where the man lived and not upon his grave. More cows will be sacrificed by relatives and friends of the deceased towards whose families in his lifetime he has acted similarly. This vast slaughter attracts the whole neighbourhood and the sectional tribe of the dead man divide up the flesh for themselves, and go away under their great burdens. Visitors from other tribes have no such rights, but partake of the feast of cooked meat for which one cow will have been roasted for the occasion.

There is a widespread belief in *Subiro*, i.e. spirits of the departed and their power for good and evil. In the Wadi Rizat I came upon scraps of food and tobacco in the pool beneath where the spring comes gushing out of a cavern. The locals emerge at night to throw morsels on the ground or into the pool shouting, "We are your sons and your daughters—don't harm us. Be awake so that we are not harmed by *Jins* (human kind) or *Jinns*."

Nughush they call this casting of bread upon the waters. In theory these spirits brood over running water only: they are amenable to kind treatment and treat mankind in the same way that they are treated by mankind.

The people of Jurbaib, lower down, sacrifice a cow before the harvest after it has made a circuit of the crops—its blood being drained into the irrigation ducts. Bits of its flesh are cast amongst the growing grass.

This spring of Rizat was in old days the subject of a notorious government case. Bait Zaiyan, a section of the Shahara, claimed the exclusive right to practise *nughush* in it. The Qara overlords who wished to share in the benefits of ghostly grace demanded to go "fifty-fifty" in the sacrifice. The government wali, in order to make government itself a partner in the scheme and share in the crops of the plains, decided that both parties would receive exactly equal quantities of food from government so that there should be no cheating. But in later years the slave soldiers of government, becoming overbearing in their treatment of Bait Zaiyan, the latter called upon the departed spirits of their forefathers who promptly made the water run up hill, so that the crops in the plains withered and died, whereupon government's share lapsed.

Cases of virtue held to be latent in certain dying animals I met with on several occasions. The highly valued contents of the antelope's bladder for man, and its stomach for camels, may be purely a rational custom, but that cannot be said of a raven I had shot. While it lay dying a Badu asked for its heart, which he proposed thus to eat raw and palpitating. This was, he said, a protection to his own heart from evil influence, its bile also which he proposed mixing with kohl with which to annoint his eyelids. The Shahari who killed my biggest cobra,

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM 2

825 a 3 ft. 4 in. specimen, took delight in stroking his own eyelids with its tail. This he held would
789 impart virtue to his sight.

754 I have never met animistic cults amongst northern Arabs, who profess contempt for such practices, if indeed they do not dub them ungodly.

INHERITANCE.

428 The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share, a son two shares, and the wives one-eighth of the estate. Where there are no sons, the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds of it, one-fourth goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children and the remainder goes to the children. But where it differs from Shara law is that if there is no son and less than three daughters, the deceased's brother is entitled to only a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, they take the whole of it, and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are also peculiar. They are bound up with
● [782] their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth, as already shown, is generally in cows, and at a man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood-sacrifice up to the number of 20. In the case of large herds 20 is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of 1 in 10, and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is the same as the debts, 1 in 10 in a small estate and generally a maximum of 5 in the
[801] case of large estates. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter, or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. If she has two daughters it does. There thus seems to be some special merit in the figures 1 and 3. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes, but accords with Shara, is that all wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

LOVEMAKING, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

582 Polygamous marriage and facile divorce are the same in South Arabia as elsewhere
583 throughout the peninsula, but with this difference, that the "paternal cousin" has not here the same unquestioned right to the girl's hand as holds elsewhere. The father is the supreme arbiter. The girl is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on her spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and instances where one party or the other has not yet reached the age of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations.

576 The mountain people kiss the cheek in salutation, the nomad tribes of South Arabia use
832 the triple nose-kiss, left, right, centre. This is also the lover's kiss amongst them. To grasp

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a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only.

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *qasidas* which are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes, and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *gadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire of his wife and say *Talaq* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper, ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representative father or brother) descend to the plain where a *gadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring—

21: Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

a sort of christening ceremony which we perform on ships with the cooler and more fragrant blood of the grape. The custom in Oman when a new house is finished is for the prospective occupant to slay a sheep on going in. He dabbles his hand in the pool of blood and smears the door-posts. This custom is also observed in the plain of the Dhufar during actual building operations. The meat is eaten by the builders themselves and the blood is smeared indiscriminately over the walls. On the completion of the house, the incomer dashes two hens' eggs on the threshold, two on the stairway and two on the upstairs doorway. This is anathema to the mountain dwellers, who in any case have no houses, but chiefly because the hen and all other bird flesh and birds' eggs are with them taboo. It would be the greatest insult to place such things as food before the non-Arabic speaking tribesman of the mountains.

LAW AND DISPUTES.

As in most tribal societies in Arabia, *hukm al hauz*, or a code of ancient sanctions, is the law. The *hauz* is a wise man of the tribe. Not infrequently his is an hereditary office, occasionally the *hauz* is the shaikh of his tribe. Shara law, *i.e.* holy law in Oman and elsewhere, is the law of the coastal townships. Outside them it will be resorted to in cases of matrimony, and sometimes of divorce and inheritance; in disputes or crime cases scarcely at all. That is the province of the *hauz*. The same is true of these South Arabians. The Shara or holy law is distasteful to these people and can only be imposed even along the coast by government force. Their own code varies considerably from the code of Oman or that of Hadhramaut, showing evidences of exclusive origin. They have a passionate attachment to the eye-for-an-eye idea, the need of making the punishment fit the crime. An example, told me by the Wali of Dhufar as having taken place last year is as follows: "X" was going on a journey into the "Y's" country and took a *rabia* from "Y." On arriving there the sacred law of protection was transgressed and "X" found himself wounded with a bullet through the fleshy part of his thigh. A *hauz* heard the case and decided that "Y," the innocent party but member of the offending tribe, must submit to the infliction of a similar wound as that which "X" had sustained. For this purpose a piece of stick was brought and sharpened skewer fashion. This was thrust into "Y's" leg and a bullet was threaded and drawn in its path. By local canons "X's" grievance was removed.

In Oman the abuse of the *rabia* would be followed by war between the two tribes unless the offended party agreed to the ruling of the *hauz*, when he would receive from the offenders *Laum-al-wijh* (blame of the face), which is usually assessed at 400 dollars. Murder, which in Arab tribal societies is almost invariably settled by blood-money which varies between 400 and 1,000 dollars (or rather its equivalent in kind), in these Qara mountains is assessed prodigiously high, in theory something like 5,000 dollars, which may take a lifetime to pay off, but is most usually complicated by a vendetta. The murdered man may be poor, so that his close relatives will in any case be impoverished, but collections are made from each and every member of the tribe, who as a point of honour or from inescapable custom must bear the brunt.

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passages connect the house with the lower portion as well as with the flat roof of the mosque. In the hot season the sunset and evening ritual prayers are always performed on the roof, and the *ʿālim*[1] sits here in the evenings, teaching the recitation of the Koran to a circle of lads. A sayyid who has made his fortune abroad will first build a mosque in his native village and afterwards a big house for himself. For does he not owe the privileged position in his own country to religion, and to Allah's help the riches that he has successfully amassed in foreign lands? The abnormally large number of fine mosques in the poor country of Ḥaḍramaut is the result.

As in the other houses, the passages and stairs in Sayyid el-Bārr's house are plastered with light-brown mud mixed with finely chopped straw. The floor is always ribbed in a design of waving lines imprinted into the mud whilst it is wet. There are wooden pillars in the large rooms as there are no strong supporting beams for the construction of the roofs, which are always made of the split trunks of date-palms. The fibrous, brown stem of the tree is often plastered over with mud or covered with a wattle-work made of the split ribs of the leaves of the date-palm. Rust-red, black or white are the tasteful colours used in such wattle-work and, indeed, also on the layer of mud.

One usually enters the *madjlis* or reception-room by a door in the middle of the shortest wall. On either side of the door there are great wooden chests, in which the sleeping-mattresses and pillows are hidden away during the day-time. These heavy, finely carved chests, decorated with tin-plated iron, are frequently the only ornament of the room. The window openings are small and close to the ground. In the houses of the rich, the wooden shutters and framework of the windows are carved. The floors are covered with simple mats of plaited palm-leaves over which the rich people lay carpets.

[1] *ʿĀlim* (عالم), a learned man, in this case, a man who thoroughly knows the religion.

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fluential, privileged position, though abroad this position is constantly attacked, and with increasing violence. Western colonial governments make no distinction between the *sāda* (plural of *sayyid*) and those who are not descended from the Prophet, but here this kind of democracy is neither understood nor respected by the *sāda*. It was the only objection that I heard raised against the Netherlands' Colonial Government.

In their own land they are the maintainers of religion, and in no other Muḥammadan country are there so many and such beautiful mosques. Also I have seldom seen the *ṣalāt* performed with so much devotion as among the *sāda* in Ḥaḍramaut. Their influence on the government of their land is great: the Sultans are financially dependent on them, the Bedouin tribes are governed by them both by means of money and by religious influence. If they were not so hopelessly disunited among themselves, the political conditions in the "country of the *sāda*" would be much better. It will be seen from what follows how distressingly bad these are at the present time.

The place of honour is given to the sayyid in daily life; he takes the lead during the performance of the *ṣalāt* and sees that it is duly carried out. He is greeted with a respectful kiss on the hand, a salute which even the Sultan does not evade, at least in appearance; the sayyid shows his appreciation of this by drawing back his hand and making as if he will kiss that of the Sultan. This game of make-believe is carried on for quite a little time, for people in Ḥaḍramaut have plenty of time to spare and cling with great respect to the decorum of life. For the non-sayyid of distinction it also suffices if he makes a pretence of kissing the hand.

In Ḥureḍa all worldly authority is subordinate to that of the sayyids. The Governor is a poor young man who is completely dependent, financially, on the el-ʿAṭṭās family. The schools, mosques, wells and other objects of public utility are maintained by the sayyids.

Water-supply for Ḥureḍa is a matter of difficulty. We saw great wells lined with masonry, which are about 55 *qāma* deep

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Bedouin, calling himself a Muslim, yet still a heathen, approaches this spot with holy dread. Here, for three days, he knows peace with his fellows and brotherly intercourse; here fear is banished; here he stands, in very truth, on the threshold of holy ground. He, with his life's great need, approaches the miracle-working tomb of his Prophet like a hopeful and trustful child. He, or more often she, carries a wooden wedge and a coloured thread of wool with a little stone attached to it, lightly in the hand. The wedge has to be driven into the outer wall of the *qubba* or into the rounded border of stone, plastered with white, which marks the place where the body lies. It does not seem to be permitted to drive wedges into the inside of the cupola. The threads of wool are chewed into lumps and, well-moistened with saliva, are stuck on to the walls and ceiling. The walls are decorated in this way so profusely that they look as though hung with a many-coloured wall-paper or enriched with a gaily painted design.

We have approached the sanctuary warily and noiselessly. No one comes to forbid our entrance, so we venture to go in. Fortunately there is no one inside either. Below us, in the *nāqa* mosque, there are a few pilgrims, and if there are keepers of the buildings they will be with them teaching them how to recite the special prayers. The sound of litanies said in unison rises up to us; they are repeated with monotonous persistance and increasing urgency. In the *qubba* of Nebī Hūd we see, in the middle, a round piece of masonry like the base of a very thick pillar. It is built upon the protruding rock, which has a wide, deep fissure in it just here. This is the place where the rock, at Allāh's command, must have opened for His servant to enter and never closed again completely. The rock and, in particular, the edges of the cleft, are polished smooth by the thousands of hands that have stroked them gently in prayer and by the lips that have kissed this sacred spot. Verses from the Koran in which the Prophet Hūd is mentioned, or sayings of Muḥammad handed down by word of mouth, extolling the merits of the pilgrimage to
the tomb of Hūd, are written here and there on the walls.

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the tomb of Hūd, are written here and there on the walls. The sun is sinking as we go from the pillared hall of the cupola to the terrace built round it and look out over the long wādī through which we have come. There is water in the *sēl*-bed, which shines like gold in the light of the setting sun. The bushes and trees along its banks have taken on a violet colour. The shapes of the stern rock-walls are becoming blurred and have lost their look of sombre menace. This is the solemn moment when desert, *djōl* and wādī are movingly beautiful. The silence and infinity oppress, nevertheless, and man deeply realizes his littleness and finiteness.

We descend the steps to the silent town in the ravine. In the mosque of the *nāqa*, between the white pillars, we see pilgrims at prayer in rows, prostrating themselves and standing up again. Their prayer of supplication has a moving sound in the great silence of the evening. The mosque is quite new; a great block of rock which is said to be the petrified camel projects from the mountain-side above the building. A great white terrace, on which are straight rows of simple, round pillars supporting a flat roof, and a broad white stairway leading down to the town, complete a sober, beautiful whole.

We have been able to enter one of the great houses of the el-Kāf family by a small backdoor. The rock-walls and the houses are radiating the heat that they have absorbed during the day; gusts of hot air pass from time to time through the ravine. We climb up to the roof-terrace. The caravan has arrived shortly before us and our companions have lain down to rest on the roof. No one has energy left to attend to us, no one provides for food or for drink, and yet we are dying of thirst and must have water. One of the Bedouins who followed the caravan is persuaded by the promise of a meal to go in search of water. The wells in the town do not supply good drinking-water; the water in the wādī is bitter and is only drunk by the pilgrims, who also bathe in it, ascribing a purifying power to it, but there is a well with sweet water in WEST Barhūt, at least half an hour's walk from the town.

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42° C. The task which every one imposes upon himself is to lie still, try to feel as calm as possible and to wait patiently until the greatest heat is past. When the sun is somewhat lower in the sky we give the signal to break camp, but there is general protest, for they must all go and pray in the cupola of the tomb and in the *nāqa* mosque. Sayyid ʿAlī, who besides being a daring man of adventure is also a pious Muslim, takes the lead and recites the prayers and passages from the Koran, suitable to the occasion. Further, everyone has charges to carry out for relations or friends and so it happens that these last prayers at Qabr Hūd seem never-ending. From our house we can see their small forms between the pillars on the dark, stony hill-side, and their recitations and supplications rise and fall on waves of sound, raising echoes in the silent, deathlike valley.

They come back from their prayers at last down the white steps, as if satisfied with themselves, and go on towards the town. We are ready to leave, but they are not. They wish, for some time, to enjoy in retrospect their religious ecstasy and not to break camp until after sundown. Our patience, however, is by this time exhausted and Von Wissmann and I set out together under general protest, followed by the two donkey-boys with the donkeys carrying the instruments and the drinking-water. When the others see that our decision is irrevocable, an armed guide is sent to follow.

8. THE RUINS OF EL-MEKĒNŪN, ḤUSN THŌBE AND EL-ʿURR.

We stride fast over the soft path of loess. The shadow of the mountain wall soon fills the wādī-bed through which we are walking. The fierce, blinding light of the hot day has disappeared; the evening sky takes on soft gay colours and reflects them over the quiet country. There are bushes beside the path into which a few birds have come to roost, sparrows and a kind of dove, which have very little shyness and break the silence and rigidity of the landscape. Here, where there